FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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MAN AND THE BRICKLAYER.

(After Goethe.)

Like the bricklayer man is,
Ever he builds and mounts;
On the scaffold he makes,
Higher and higher,
To raise his structure unto perfection.
Dizzy he is at times, but careful.
Yet sometimes he falls from the scaffold he made,
And tumbles down to ruin.
He cries to God, but in vain.
His days are gone, and he goes to rest.

BASIL DAHL.

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THE POLICY OF THE STATE.

Success in State management depends largely upon the practice of deception, and the better the State is able to conceal its true inwardness and hoodwink the people, the more certain it may be of securing prompt and trustful submission from the masses. The people are never allowed to know who the State actually is, nor who is the one that needs or wants their money. The whole policy of the State, as a rule, is one of actual or constructive fraud and deception. The people are not permitted to know, except to a limited extent, what becomes of the taxes that are raised. A favorite method of raising revenues is through what is called "indirect taxation," a scheme by which large sums are taken from the pockets of the people annually, while those who pay the bill have no means of knowing how much is thus taken, nor what becomes of the money.

In this, as in every other civilized country, no man can own anything unless it has the government brand on it in some place; no one is permitted to do even the most simple thing, against the will or without the approval of the State. Society, or government, has all the power—THE INDIVIDUAL HAS NONE. The theory is, that all that people are good for is to serve the public, and in so doing, to serve the State. What the public wants, or rather what those want who control the machine, is to have some one else do the serving and sacrificing, while they simply give the orders. The public always extols a man for his patriotism—it loves patriotism, in other people—but when a war is begun it is only a certain portion of the people who are sent forward to fill the enemy's prisons, or die in the hospitals or on the battlefields. Those who call themselves the State, with their favorites and friends, are careful to remain at home to raise funds and send forward recruits. Even if they join the army, they uniformly obtain some choice place, some office, or a position on some officer's staff, a clerkship in some department, or perhaps a situation as hospital steward. It is the "bone and sinew of the land" that is usually sent to the front—at least that has been the experience in this country in previous cases. It is always much more pleasant to rule than to be ruled, and to be on the inside than the outside when trouble arises.

Max Stirner says, with truth: "The State rests upon the slavery of labor. If labor were free, and the worker were his own master, the State would cease to exist." The great works of this world are usually the product or result of what may be called slave labor.

No one obeys this man or that man; he obeys simply the law or the constitution. That is the prevailing fiction, and it has worked with surprising success thus far in most countries. But who makes the law, and how is it made? It is much easier to name those who do not make the laws than those who do. The people who obey the law do not make the laws; if they did, they would usually make them different.

Men generally hate black slaves, but they have no objection at all to white slavery, provided it goes by some other name and is not against the law. They would not see a dog ill used or trodden under foot, but they stand by and see the noblest men of our land imposed upon, trampled down and even murdered in cold blood, if it is done in the name of the State, and if it is claimed to be necessary for the good of the public. The State can do anything it chooses—it can commit any imaginable crime, in order to tighten its grip or insure its safety or success. That is the remarkable prerogative that the State seems to possess.

The "Horrors of Slavery" was a book that I happened to come across in my younger days. It was an account given by an American who had fallen into the clutches of the Algerines in the early part of this century. The tale of suffering related by this man was shocking enough, but a more affecting account than that could be given, if one should attempt to describe the sufferings and misfortunes of men and women in every civilized land today who are pestered, persecuted, prosecuted, ruined, and sometimes slaughtered in the name of Christianity and the law! What will men not do, if they can only be brought to believe that it is their duty? Is there any crime that they would hesitate to commit under such circumstances?

But, we cannot have brave men unless we have free men; and we cannot have honest and virtuous men, until we have men who fear neither God nor man. Men who are afraid fail to do what they know they ought to do. A man who is under the law is a slave, and a slave can have no virtues, certainly no virtues of his own. He can never be himself—he must be some other one than himself—a sort of fraud or hypocrite, a nondescript, a kind of centaur that is half horse and half human being. How can a man develop himself, fully and naturally, when he is always kept in a strait-jacket and is always under restraint?

It is rascals that get the most service and assistance from the State. The State will send out a regiment to protect a scalawag, if he happens to be a protege of the government, but what it would do for an honest and worthy citizen, would usually be very little indeed. It is the majesty of the law, and its supposed violation, that arouses and irritates the State, and when the State feels insulted, it brings out its gun in short order. Then the trouble begins.

Under the State no man does anything that is not authorized. When a man does anything, the first question that is asked, especially if it is a little out of the ordinary course of things, is whether it is according to law. Everything is supposed to come from the State—it is the source of wealth, power, happiness, everything. No wonder the State is our God, and there is no other God but the State. In the Middle Ages the Church had all the power; now the Church is allied with the State, in a subordinate capacity, however. God himself has become simply a shadow, a remembrance, a form without either substance or power.

It is a curious fact that the State in which the people rule is strictly an unlimited monarchy, because the government, the people, is the source of all power. The people are above kings; the king gets his power from the people, and the people are the original source of power. The people take the place of God. And, by the way, whom do we mean by the "people"? Do we mean everybody, the whole people? No, most assuredly not. THE WHOLE PEOPLE NEVER DOES ANYTHING—IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE. When we say the people, we mean some people, a few people, those who take the lead and conduct the business—they are the people in all cases. All other people are ghosts, mere words. Nay more, when we talk about what the whole people does, we are trying to perpetrate a fraud and deceive the public.

We pay to the State because we feel obligated on account of the good we imagine it does for us. The State, as we believe, gives us our daily bread, or at least if it were not for the constant protection the State gives us, we could not have our daily sustenance. We have everything from society and the State. But what does the State have from us? What could the State or society do without you and me, and the rest of us? Without us, THERE NEVER WOULD BE ANY STATE. The obligation is really on the other side; we could exist without society, but society could not exist for a moment without the individuals of which it is composed.

In this connection, the following additional truths may be brought to the attention of the reader: All men are equal among themselves—but as against the State, there is no possible room for comparison. The State has all the power, and the individual none. The one who has the power is right always—power is the only source of justice that is known. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reform either the State, the government, or law. We can dispense with them, but we cannot improve them. It is impossible to make a good man a bad man, or to convert a bad man into a good man. It must not be forgotten that the State in its whole nature is depraved—IT WAS CONCEIVED IN INIQUITY.

It must be remembered that the State is a ghost, so is society, mankind, the court, and organizations of all kinds. They are an ideal and not real things. Bodies of men are always ghosts, mere imaginary existences. Their sole representative is a word.

Finally, nothing is holy unless I make it holy. No man is my master unless I make him such, or unless I follow and obey him. As a matter of fact, I do not believe in sacred things, because I do not believe in sacradness itself. Why should I recognize power? What is power desired for? Simply to have something to apply to those who are subject to power. IF MEN DID NOT DESIRE MY LABOR, MY MONEY, MY PROPERTY, MYSELF, THEY WOULD NEVER SEEK TO OVERPOWER ME. So it is with the State.—From "Life Without a Master," by J. Wilson, Ph. D., Newark, N. Y.

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THE DIFFERENCE.

"Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive department. When the rich combine, it is for the purpose of exchanging ideas. When the poor combine, it is conspiracy. If they act in concert, if they rally to do something, it is a mob. If they defend themselves, it is treason. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? . . Will the workers never find how powerful they are? A cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, the downtrodden, the unfortunate; from the despised, from men who despair and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and the bravest battle for the right."—Ingersoll.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Comrade James F. Morton, Jr., is now lecturing at Caplinger Mills, Mo., and likes to hear *at once* from all comrades in any States west of Missouri, who can arrange meetings. They can address the letters in care of Carl Nold, 110 So. 16th St., St. Louis, Mo., as all his mail will be promptly forwarded.

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In the interest of Berkman's Defense Association I will state here that we received their account, printed elsewhere in this issue, itemized, but lack of space prevented us from publishing the name of each contributor.

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Several of our Scandinavian readers have been inquiring whether the "Anarkisten," published in Christiana, Norway, was still issued or not as they had not received the paper for some time. Olga Hansteen, the wife of the editor, has now informed a comrade in this country that the paper was suspended last year in March. The editor had exposed certain perpetrations of the government and was just warned in time to escape imprisonment by leaving the country.

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Others have been anxious to know whether the co-operative home, of which mention was made in Free Society some time ago, has been established in this city. It will probably astonish some of our readers when we say that the plan was abandoned because the majority of the so-called Anarchists were afraid to lead a freer life and improve their condition economically. When they realized that the undertaking would make their wives self-sustaining and more or less independent, they thought co-operation was a bad thing after all.

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Amy Murphy of this city thought she was disgraced because she had submitted to a natural desire without having asked a preacher or judge for permission, and suicided. At the funeral Rev. Dr. Wilson, one of the most prominent "divinities" of this city, expressed his divine sentiments thus:

Friends: Every time I am called to a funeral of this sort, I thank God for my southern birth; for in my country we kill men for the offenses that lie back of this tragedy. And I want to see the day when every State in the Union will make it justifiable homicide for the brother or father of a wronged girl to kill the fellow whose infamous footsteps crossed the threshold of her home.

I wonder how this bloodthirsty divine, who ought to apply for a job as a hangman, reconciles such ignoble utterances with the teachings of the goepel, as for instance: "Thou shalt not kill", "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged," or "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil."

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"People will all become immoral under Anarchy," said a so-called Freethinker to me recently. A few questions revealed the fact that he applied the terms morality and immorality strictly to sexual conduct. He apprehended that people's conduct in their sexual relations would not be in accord with the moral standard set up by the Christians to whose god and bible he is an irreconcilable foe. How shortsighted these Freethinkers are! They denounce the Christians and their bible, yet accept their moral code in regard to sexual relationship without questioning its soundness, or without realizing the ridiculesness of their position. They sneer at the idea of being married by a preacher or priest, but find it quite in order that a judge should sanction their love affairs by a slip of paper.

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But there are Freethinkers who severely criticize this narrow view on morality. "Morality means little more than right sexual conduct," says C. Cohen in the London Freethinker. "A man may, if he is a statesman, plunge his country into serious trouble to gratify personal ambition; if a landlord, grossly abuse his power over his tenants; if an employer, sweat his workingmen to death; if in business, he may sand his sugar, sell paper boots for leather, margarine for butter, or otherwise swindle his customers; he may float bogus companies, or, by an infinitude of sharp practices, beggar thousands who have placed reliance upon him; yet, provided he be sexually continent, few will dream of applying the epithet 'immoral' to him."

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Again the daily papers of this city were given an opportunity to tell their readers that an Anarchist declined to judge his fellow men on a jury. This is time it was comrade F. A. Parsons. Bravo!

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The Rockland Independent characterizes the difference between the old and new times thus: "A quarter of a century ago a jail awaited the rascal. Now, it is the U. S. Senate." A. I.

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"ANARCHY IN KENTUCKY."

It is a well known fact in psychology that the persistent repetition of a lie has a tendency always to make the person, into whose ears it is *dinned*, conscientiously believe it to be the truth. This is the trick of both the charlatan and the politician. The "newspapers" cannot ignore the fact that disorder and crime exist; but that it exists because of the conflict of authority between the Republican and Democratic office hunters, and would not and could not exist, even between the individuals composing the respective factions, were it not for politics, which, through the mechanism of parties, enables the ambitious and unscrupulous to distinguish themselves in their scramble for place and power, is just the point which the lying capitalistic press desires to hide from public view. Consequently, the circus in Kentucky, which is the essential outcome of political party maneuvering, with its disgraceful scenes of violence, disorder and crime, is "Anarchy" and the perpetrators "Anarchists."

The "American people like to be fooled." True. And the two and a half million *sovereign citizen* voters, against whom our Socialist friend Dewey disclaimed so vehemently because they could be bought and sold, or their votes could, just like any other commodity, will not be the only ones to vote the "straight Republica ticket," or who with magnificent "patrotism" will endeavor to uphold the honor—yes, the "honor"! of the anti-trust, anti-imperialistic, anti-Anarchistic, loyal and true, honest, democratic, genuine American party. Bah! "It would make a cat cough."

Well, now, that I may not, by repeating a lie, hypnotize myself into thinking it is the truth, let me ring up a few well known honest men from various schools of thought, and in various parts of the universe, and hear what they have to say upon this question of Anarchy.

First I get to Dr. Wilson. "Hello." "Hello." "Is this Dr. Wilson?" "That's right." "You're pastor of a prominent M. E. Church, I understand?" "Right again." "Well—a—have you a—I don't know if you are M. E. Church North of Christ, or M. E. Church South—it matters not just now. What I wish to know, if you will be so courteous and kind as to inform me, is, have you in connection with your church an institution in which poor and respectable girls are enabled on the co-operative plan to obtain food and lodging at cost?" "Well, you are partly right. We have a *home*, a co-operative home, not in any sense an *institution*,—simply a home, the same as home is usually understood. 'There is no place like home, you know.' We have no rules and regulations. We simply accord the young ladies perfect freedom, placing them upon their honor for the observance of proper conduct, and they have never abused it."

"Don't you think, doctor, that if humanity, men and women everywhere and at all times throughout society, were upon their 'honor,' without laws and penalties, not in institutions where they would be coerced and cajoled by regulations and rules, but in 'homes' where they would be free to do right from choice, as they are today only to do wrong, not from choice but from necessity,—don't you think that the wickedness of mankind, which is said to be insatiable, would be reduced to a minimum; that the gospel of peace, the vision of the prophet, the aim of the philanthropist, the inspiration of the poet, the hope of the philosopher would, to an extent hitherto unknown, be speedily established? That, instead of society plunging, as it is today, '*with hideous ruin and combustion down to bottomless perdition*,' in the wilderness waters would break out, and streams in the desert, the dry ground would become a pool and the thirsty land springs of water, the earth rejoice and blossom as the rose, and in every human heart there would be thanksgiving,—on every human lip rejoicing and the voice of melody?"

"Ah—you are an—An—there are so many voices here,—I can't hear what you are saying through the 'phone. Good bye!"

I am determined to find out what this subject of Anarchy really means, so I ring up Dr. David Starr Jordan of Stanford University. The professor is very courteous, but he is extremely busy, so, when I ask him, he excuses himself by saying, "Oh, I am not a dictionary full of Anarchistic definitions. If you want to know my opinions, read my most recent book entitled "Imperial Democracy." You will find that I have therein stated that "the day of nations *as Nations* is passing. And if it pleases you it won't hurt me, to make that mean 'all the traffic can bear,' or any old thing calculated to inculcate the vagaries of Anarchistic philosophy. Good bye."

As I got but small satisfaction from the living, I thought I would try the dead, so I again rang up the central and asked to be put on to black N. S. E. and W., number ten thousand million, and to my great surprise a voice said in the vibrating atmosphere of raw onions and sulpher: 'You don't need a 'phone to talk to me. I am the spirit of Gibbon. Friend Macaulay and I reside at a place called Sheol in the bottomless pit, popularly known as the infernal regions. When I get back 'there 'll be a hot time in the old town tonight.' I say to you: The operation of the wisest laws is precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, they cannot restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit."

"Mr. Gibbon," said I, "you are no doubt in hell at this time for writing such an Anarchistic plea as that." He replied: "I would rather be a free thinker in hell, than a slave to superstition in heaven"

At the mention of "heaven" there came to me another voice from the excellent glory of the ethereal blue, saying unto me: "Heed not the mutterings of those who are without the gates on account of their depravity, perfidy, and infidelity. Listen to me. I am Robert Loius Stevenson, that is, I was in earth life; but now I have received a new name, and am illuminated with an exceeding an eternal weight of glory. I never have to suffer the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth without any gums, like your infidel friend. But if you really want to know what Anarchy is, turn to page 119, volume III. of my works, article 'The Petrified Forest.' There was a Swede, a Scot and an American, acknowledging some kind of allegiance to three lands. ...Indeed I think we all belong to many countries. And perhaps this habit of much travel, and the engendering of scattered friendships, may prepare the euthanasia of ancient nations."

"My Christian spirit friend," I asked, "why mock you my desire? 'Tis not of ancient nations or their end that I inquired."

Then arose the majestic spirit of Malthus and he said: "Child of earth, don't let this little Kentucky episode worry you. That there is, however, in all power a constant tendency to encroach is an incontrovertible truth, and cannot be too strongly inculcated. See my essay on population, page 474 and 455. 'Government is a quarter in which liberty is not, nor cannot be, very faithfully preserved. If we are wanting to ourselves, and inattentive to our great interests in this respect, it is the height of folly and unreasonableness to expect that government will attend to them for us.'"

WALLACE E. NEVILL.

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NEWSPAPER VITUPERATION.

When Chicago awoke to a realization of what she had to do—she simply did it. There was no hesitation, no faltering. The little one-fifth of American born citizens who constitute the real Chicago, came to the front and in a calm and dignified but inflexible way administered justice. And no section of the country was more amazed than the Wild West. It was superb, but alas, it was not thorough. Today in every hole and corner of Chicago there is an Anarchist or a Socialist and some day there will come a time when they will have to be reckoned with.

The above is a part of an article written by one of our "star" newspaper women. I never realized there could be so much prejudice crammed into a stick of type. This will go broadcast, be read, and cherished against those men of Chicago—and those of us who knew them will have hard work to argue it down.

One does expect a streak of justice from a woman generally, but I guess not from a newspaper woman, especially be she a Denverite. To term the hanging of the Chicago men as a superb bit of justice!

Those men who were the friends of mankind, who were giants of intellect and who did not preach slaughter or bombs.

To brand it as superb is rank ignorance, especially when this same woman is running herself thin in a wild endeavor to secure the release from prison of Alfred Pocker, convicted of man eating. When this woman through her frantic efforts was the cause of the attempted assassination of her two employers here a month ago,—well, it doesn't speak well for her logic.

Why doesn't she laud the act of the State in convicting Pocker for man eating and call it a superb thing—a grand thing? Why not? Because Pocker was not a friend of the under dog and was not an Anarchist or Socialist—that's why. If he had been, she would say "bravo." MISS B. F. BRUKK.

I WONDER HOW MANY.

Thinking today of the time when the word Anarchy was hateful to me, and of how my sympathies went out to those martyred men of Chicago, and how I had since investigated this question of human rights, till I can now say: "Yes, I am an Anarchist,"—thinking of all this, I wondered how many there were in the United States who had become Anarchists because of what those men suffered, because of the nobility manifested, and because of the unfairness of the frightened and suborned officials. Could we know how many, what an impetus it would give to our courage! Will not others whose investigations date from that time give in their testimony to show that the death of those men was effectual propaganda for the principles for which they died?

Yes, I am an Anarchist, but not what I thought Anarchy was before I investigated it. The people have been so misinformed that words often hide instead of making clear our meaning. For instance, I am asked, "Are you a free lover?" If I say yes, I may convey an entirely false impression. The party who hears my reply may look upon me as something which I am not and never have been. This owing to the different understanding of the term. Woman has been so long enslaved that it is almost impossible for man to regard her as belonging to herself.

Before she become of age a woman or a girl, as we say, belongs to her parents. After that she belongs to the State till some man is found that she is willing to accept as master, and who will promise the State to take care of her for the use of her sex. The State decrees that the natural right to motherhood shall not be hers unless she promises the use of her body to some man during life.

This is a truthful statement of woman's status under our Christian civilization(?). If a woman declares her right to herself she is supposed to be public property. Not only the great masses of men so consider her, but those who have stolen the livery of free love will urge themselves upon her, and if she refuses they will say: "Live out your principles." The men who do this know just about as much of what real freedom is as a cat does of Greek.

No genuine free lover will ever urge himself upon a woman. The attraction must be mutual and spontaneous or not at all. Once if a woman traveled alone she was considered out of character, and even as short a time ago as our civil war there were those who had only one idea of a traveling woman.

I had a little experience myself in that line. During the war I had business which kept me traveling a portion of the time, and I had taken to traveling because my physician said I could have no health only in frequent change of locality. One day in Southern Indiana a soldier came on board the car and no one seemed inclined to give him a seat. I moved my things and gave him a part of mine. For this kindness he seemed to think he must be sociable. I replied to one or two of his questions, but not caring to enter into the details of my own business, I evaded his last question by saying I was traveling.

He sat a few moments without a word and then he turned to me and said: "Madam, I should like to spend a night with you some time." He had but one idea of a woman who traveled, and the most of people are as ignorant of what free love means. I had less sense then than now, though I could stand even more than I have, but instead of quietly explaining to the man his mistake, as would have been the proper and the womanly thing to do, I was so very angry that I stormed at him, in a quiet way of course, so as not to attract attention, but he caught it all the same.

Looking back from the standpoint of today and considering the man's ignorance and the interpretation he put upon my words, he thought he was bound to show me that he appreciated me. He had no idea of insulting me. What fools we mortals be! The interpretations that I often hear put upon new ideas, new and higher conceptions of life, make me think many times of that soldier's mistake, and we need a great deal of patience an I care to make ourselves understood.

I say that I demand unqualified freedom for woman and that all the institutions of society be made conformable to such freedom, and I am immediately confronted with present conditions and told what the consequences would be of such freedom. They take no notice of the last part of the demand whatever.

Suppose that a man who had a full conception of what a railroad should be—this before the mass were familiar with the idea,—suppose such a man should commence building a railroad car and on being questioned, should say that it was for the transportation of heavy loads across the country. "Why," says the objector, "you can never run that thing on our roads; it would cut them all to pieces."

The people know of no other way and they think that what the man is planning is impossible. But the man understands and he knows as well as they that it cannot be run on a wagon road. A track must be made on purpose. The last part of my demand includes the track for the new order of things, and I am certain that with woman free and the conditions for that freedom assured, passion would not run wild as now.

There would be no prostitution, for nature knows no prostitution but unwilling subjection. There would be no unwilling relations and no sex diseases, or harmony is health. That so prevalent complaint of female weakness would be unknown; the war spirit would die out, and there would come to the race that perfection of which so many have had glimpses, but which can never be realized till woman is wholly free. We do not expect to actualize this ideal today or tomorrow, but so far as I myself am concerned, I shall work for it all the same and coming generations will reap the harvest. LOIS WAISBROOKER.

P. S.—Though I see the law which would make freedom for woman the remedy for, or rather the prevention of sex disease and female weakness, there may be some who will look upon my statement of this truth as a mere assertion. For the benefit of such I will say that I have talked with physicians of both sexes upon this point, and with many others who are thinkers and I have to find the first one who does not say that my position is correct, and only one who even hesitated before saying it. L. W.

FROM OLYNPIA AGAIN.

During my short stay in Olympia, Wash., I found many disgruntled persons with the governmental machine. One man said that he had lived in Olympia a quarter of a century, worked hard till he could work no more, put his earnings in property, which had depreciated while taxes had accumulated, and that now the State is about to take it from him for back taxes, which he couldn't pay. "Damn a government," he said, "which robs its citizens that way." Another, a meat man, said that he had given up owning property, for the State confiscated it every ten years for taxes. He thought it was a good way to make Anarchists, but didn't seem to know anything about Anarchy.

A number favor Socialism, but some say that it don't go far enough. Others think that any kind of government must necessarily exploit its citizens.

Ignorance of the masses is everywhere apparent of their secret enemy that devours them; they are like cattle driven to the slaughter and don't realize it.

Albeit Washington seems to be a good propagating ground, notwithstanding what Mr. Young may say about "the best government on earth." The waves of discontent are all the time rising and wash in new places; old forms and institutions are tottering to their fall; a new day is dawning; and liberty will be something more than a name, and patriotism, the last refuge of a scoundrel, will be relegated to the rear. It is, however, gratfying to know that a few at the capitol city see the old harlot in all her hideousness. In fact, I think the evergreen State is all right. PETER LARSEN.

Fern Hill, Wash., Feb. 1, 1900.

HOW TO "VOTE."

The fate of the country does not depend on how you vote at the polls,—the worst man is as strong as the best at that game; it does not depend on what kind of paper you drop into the ballot box once a year, but on what kind of man you drop from your chamber into the street every morning.

Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do?" my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign your office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished. But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now. —Thoreau.

EFFORTS TO ENLARGE FREE SOCIETY.

Being anxious to see Free Society come out again as an eight page publication, the comrades here in Boston are making arrangements for a grand "FAIR" in order to raise a fund for the purpose of enlarging the paper.

Recently we made the fact known in the French Anarchist papers with the result that even our comrades in Paris, France, have promised to send us artistic articles as contributions for the projected affair to raise the necessary money. Some scattered comrades of the United States, with whom we happen to be acquainted, have also encouraged our efforts by offering their aid. But, to be successful, we need the co operation of all sympathizers of Free Society and therefore cordially request those that are interested in our undertaking to send us their addresses that we may communicate with them concerning the details of the fair. Write to D. Mikol, 16 Elm St., Chelsea, Mass., or K. A. Snellenberg, 9 Landsdowne St., Boston, Mass.

A society sunk in ignorance and ruled by mere physical force, has great reason to rejoice when a class, of which the influence is intellectual and moral, rises into ascendency. Such a class will doubtless abuse its power: but mental power, even when abused, is still a nobler and better power than that which consists merely in corporal strength.—Macaulay.

For Chicago.

A grand ball will be given by the International Workingmen's Group for the benefit of the Jewish weekly, Freie Arbeiter-Stimme and Free Society, March 3, 8 p. m., at the Lessing's Club House, 447 W. Tailor St.

Admission 25 cents. Tickets can be secured from the undersigned.

All friends of our cause are cordially invited.

222 DeKoven St. CHAS. KLEINMAN, Sec.

For Boston.

A Paris Commune commemoration will be held March 18, comrade Voltairine de Cleyre being the speaker. Hour and place will be given later.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

ACCOUNT OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN'S RELIEF FUND.

Cash balance from the last report	$394.35
Received from	
Pittsburg, Pa.	48.10
Cincinnati, O.	8.65
Atlantic City, N. J.	4.50
Chicago, Ill.	6.50
Spring Valley, Ill.	5.65
Imperial, Pa.	2.00
Providence, R I.	13.31
Baltimore, Md.	12.50
Raslindale, Mass.	.75
St. Louis, Mo.	40.00
Boston, Mass.	5.00
Philadelphia, Pa.	48.25
Collection by Der arme Teufel	4.75
New York, N. Y.	363 85
Total	$952.70
Expenditure:	
Lawyer fees	$315 00
Expenses in Harrisburg	192.14
Expenses of Agitation Committee	35.00
8 Gompers' fare to New York	20 00
Traveling, hall rent, printing, postage, etc., etc	48.62
To A. Berkman	78.17
Total	$683.93
Cash on hand	$268.77

HARRY GORDON, treasurer.
HENRY BAUER, secretary.

CLIPPINGS.

Did you ever hear of an unemployed rabbit? That is to say, did you ever hear of a rabbit waiting for some other rabbit to give him an opporlunity to go into the field and gather something to eat? No, you never did. And the reason for it is that you never met a rabbit that has as little sense as you have.—Salt Lake Living Issues.

Roberts has been excluded from Congress—the case is settled. If all the men in public life who are guilty of breaking the seventh commandment were to be punished by expulsion from office there wouldn't be a quorum left to transact business. Roberts' offense is that he acknowledged his relations and supported his different families like a man, instead of turning the poor creatures out to starve or do worse.—Star.

A politician is a man who lives by whispering at Washington, what he wouldn't for all the world have known at home, and whispering at home what he wouldn't for all the world have known at Washington and who is politically dead the moment he is equally well known in both places.—Jerry Simpson's Bayonet.

An exchange suggests that the next Thanksgiving proclamation may be signed, "Willian McKinley, President of the United States, Emperor of the Philippines, King of Samoa, Archduke of the Sandwich Islands, Grand Datto of the Sulus, and Geezeba of Guam." Well, what of it? It would not imply any greater power than he now exercises. Why not have powers of officials pr perly defined?—Mound City, Kans., Standard.

The present position which we, the educated and well-to-do classes, occupy is that of the "old man of the sea," riding on the poor man's back; only, unlike the "old man of the sea," we are very sorry for the poor man; very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man's relief. We will not only supply him with food sufficient to keep him on his legs, but we will teach and instruct him and point out to him the beauties of the landscape; we will discourse sweet musice to him and give him abundance of advice. Yes, we will do almost anything for the poor man, anything but get off his back.—Tolstoi.

FOR WESTESN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Committee of Agitation accounts for the following receipts and expenditures from June 24, 1899 till January 1, 1900:

In the treasury, $71.15. Received for sold tickets of the Commune Commemoration, $2; from a private picnic by Breidau, $7.25. Ortlieb, $1; F. G., $1; Fritz Siebert, $2; F. Littera, 50c.; H. Bauer, 50c; J. Meyer, 50c.: John Key, 50c.; A. Schneider, $1; H. Gordon, $1; P. Heibert returned, $2; A. Schneider returned, $12; collected in Emma Goldman's meetings, $12.17; in John Most's meetings, $20.51; in James Morton's meetings, $5.29; received so far for sold tickets of the 11th of November memorial $68. Total income, $182.22.

Expenditures: Donated to Free Society, $17.50; distributed 200 pamphlets gratis, $6 00; postage for agitation matter, $2.70; E. Goldman, $25; hall rent, leaflets, etc., for E. Goldman's meetings, $54 41; J. Most, $30; leaflets, handbills and tickets for the 11th of November and advertizing for Most's meetings, $23.10; hall rent and railroad fares, $41.87; James F. Morton, $15; handbills and hall rent for Morton's meetings, $16.35. Total expenses, $281 63.

Recapitulation:

June 24, balance on hand	$ 71.15
Received since	132.22
P. Heibert owes the Committee	23.00
Total	$.26.37
Expenditure	231.63
Deficit	$5.26

Those who have not yet delivered the money for sold tickets of the 11th of November commemoration, are cordially requested to do so in order to balance the deficit. All money designated for the agitation fund, is to be sent to the treasurer, H. Gordon, 706 Wylie Ave, Pittsburg, Pa. All communications regarding propaganda, etc., are to be acdressed to J. Meyer, Box 46, Lock No. 3, Pa.

Lectures were held in Western Pennsylvania by E. Goldman 13; by John Most 9; by James F. Morton 4. H BAUER

Allegheny, Pa., 73 Sp.inggarden Ave.

LITERARY NOTE.

It is rare for a minister of the gospel to vindicate an agnostic, but the Rev. James M. Buckley, with much pains, has done this for the late Colonel Ingersoll in the matter of the often-charged plagiarism of a temperance speech by the latter, and this vindication appears in The New York Truth Seeker of Feb. 3 Along with it also appears an article on "Ingersoll the Man," by Clarence S. Brown, for many years associated with Colonel Ingersoll in law. Mr. Brown's article shows the great orator as he was known by those who lived near to him, revealing the boundless pity, charity, kindness, simplicity, and wit of Ingersoll in his every-day life. Other articles in the same issue are "The True Basis of Morality," by Annie Besant; an editorial on the s atement by Governor Rollins of New Hampshire that religion is declining; an article on the decision of the school superintendent of Nebraska that the Bible is a proper text-book for schools; "Observations," by George E. Macdonald, of the most humorous description, and shorter essays, editorials, and contributions of varied interest. The Truth Seeker is a weekly, published at 28 Lafayette Place, New York. Single copies are seven cents. ts

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